

## Message Text

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51

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 127067

O R 221630Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5949

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3226

EXDIS

NOFORN

DEPARTMENT PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS PFOR

SUBJ CSCE: PROPOSED EC-NINE DEMARCHE TO

SOVIETS ON POSSIBLE ADJOURNMENT OF PHASE II

REF GENEVA 3155

1. EC-NINE DELEGATION HEADS HERE ARE IN PROCESS OF  
DRAFTING REPORT TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS, FOR CONSIDERATION  
AT EC-NINE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN BONN MAY 27-28.  
SOVIET INTRASIGENCE OVER PAST WEEKS HAS LED NINE DELEGATIONS  
TO A DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE CURRENT STATE  
OF CSCE NEGOTIATIONS.

2. WE NOW UNDERSTAND NINE DELEGATION HEADS MAY RECOMMEND  
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TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS THAT THEY BE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE

JOINT DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS, INDICATING THAT UNLESS PROGRESS CAN BE MADE SOON ON BASKET III AND MILITARY SUBJECTS THE NINE WOULD BE PREPARED SIMPLY TO ADJOURN CSCE PHASE TWO, POSSIBLY IN JULY. THIS ADJOURNMENT COULD BE EITHER SINE DIE, OR UNTIL SOME UNSPECIFIED TIME IN THE FUTURE.

3. WHILE THE NINE DELEGATION HEADS HAVE NOT YET PUT THEIR IDEAS ON PAPER AND ARE STILL CONSIDERING A BROAD SPECTRUM OF IDEAS ON PRESENTATION AND EMPHASIS, THEY APPEAR TO BE UNANIMOUS IN FAVORING A STRONG DEMARCHE OF SOME KIND.

4. NON-NINE NATO DELEGATION HEADS HAVE VARYING VIEWS ON WHAT KIND OF DEMARCHE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE SOVIETS AT THIS TIME. THESE DELEGATIONS ALSO FEEL ANY STEPS TOWARD ADJOURNMENT OF PHASE TWO WORK SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY FULL NATO GROUP, SINCE SUCH A MOVE WOULD HAVE BROAD IMPLICATIONS FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND DETENTE IN GENERAL. WE EXPECT THIS SUBJECT TO BE RAISED IN MEETING OF NATO DELEGATION HEADS ON MAY 24, AND NINE HAVE ALREABC INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER US SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN INITIATIVE TO BE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE.

5. SOVIETS IN PAST WEEKS HAVE STALLED PROGRESS IN ALL FOUR SUBCOMMITTEES OF BASKET III BY HARDENING THEIR POSITIONS, IN SOME CASES REFUSING TO ACCEPT WORDS AND IDEAS THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY FOUND BEARABLE, AND REFUSING TO MOVE ON BY BRACKETING DIFFICULT TOPICS. OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS PROFESS PUZZLEMENT AT SOVIET TACTICS AND WESTERN ANALYSES VARY WIDELY. WE HAVE TOLD SOVIET DELEGATION THAT THE CONFERENCE IS AT A CRUCIAL JUNCTURE, AND THAT SOME DEMONSTRATION OF FLEXIBILITY ON BASKET III SPECIFICS WILL BE REQUIRED NOW IF SOVIETS WISH TO MOVE TOWARD A THIRD PHASE IN JULY, AS THEY INSIST THEY DO. WHILE UNDERLYING SOVIET ATTITUDE IS NOT COMPLETELY CLEAR AT THIS TIME (SEE REFTEL), WE ASSUME SOVIETS WOULD MAKE TOKEN GESTURES OF FLEXIBILITY TO DEFUSE THIS SORT OF DEMONSTRATION OF DISCONTENT, AND THUS KEEP CSCE SIMMERING.

6. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO TAKE LINE IN CSCE NATO CAUCUS THAT WEIGHT OF WESTERN DISSATISFACTION  
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SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO SOVIETS, BUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY CAN REVISE THEIR POSITIONS WITHOUT FEELING THEMSELVES UNDER PUBLIC PRESSURE TO DO SO. WEST SHOULD EXERCISE PATIENCE ON BASKET III QUESTIONS, AND IN LIGHT OF WESTERN POLITICAL CHANGES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO WAIT A REASONABLE TIME FOR SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO FREER MOVEMENT PROBLEMS. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD TRY TO ENSURE THAT WHATEVER DEMARCHE IS MADE DOES NOT TAKE THE FORM OF AN ULTIMATUM,

AND IS FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO FIT ANY POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.  
IF DEPARTMENT WISHES US TO MAKE ANY ADDITIONAL POINTS AT  
THIS TIME, WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE BY OPENING  
OF BUSINESS MAY 24.

7. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD STRONGLY URGE THE DEPARTMENT  
TO ENSURE THAT THE STRENGTH OF WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DIS-  
SATISFACTION WITH RECENT SOVIET BEHAVIOR AT CSCE IS CONVEYED  
TO THE SOVIETS WHENEVER WE HAVE HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS  
WITH THEM. THE SOVIETS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT EVEN THE  
USEFULNESS OF A CONTINUATION OF CSCE PHASE TWO IS NOW  
BEING QUESTIONED BY MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES.ABRAMS

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY.

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